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The Franco-Algerian War

by T. Noel Stern

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Stalin the Lesser

The so-called "downgrading" of the late Joseph Stalin by his one-time associates passed the point of no return with the publication early last month of Krushchev's remarkable "secret" speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The detailed exposition of Stalin's cruel, paranoid behavior leaves the image of the late revered dictator more nearly the likeness of one of the world's greatest criminals than that of the benevolent, all-wise and loving father his idolators fashioned during his lifetime.

No one, certainly in the West and probably in the Soviet Union itself, can predict with any assurance what the net result will be in terms of world peace. Two observations are in order, however.

The first of these is that United States reaction continues to be rigid, unimaginative and negative. American political leaders appear to be unable to see beyond such pedestrian responses as warnings that "nothing has changed" and demands that foreign aid be cut to anyone who shows signs of friendliness to the Soviets.

The second observation is that the non-Communist left, while taking care not to be "entangled in its own rigidities," as A. J. Muste warned at Carnegie Hall, needs also to be cautious about reading into the new developments more than is—so far—there. American Communists, from a position in which their eyes were fixed loyally on Stalin's shoulderblades, have made a great twist-

ing leap and come down in favor of the Bill of Rights, two-party government in a "socialist United States," and numerous other admirable items over which their tongues stumble in unfamiliarity and confusion.

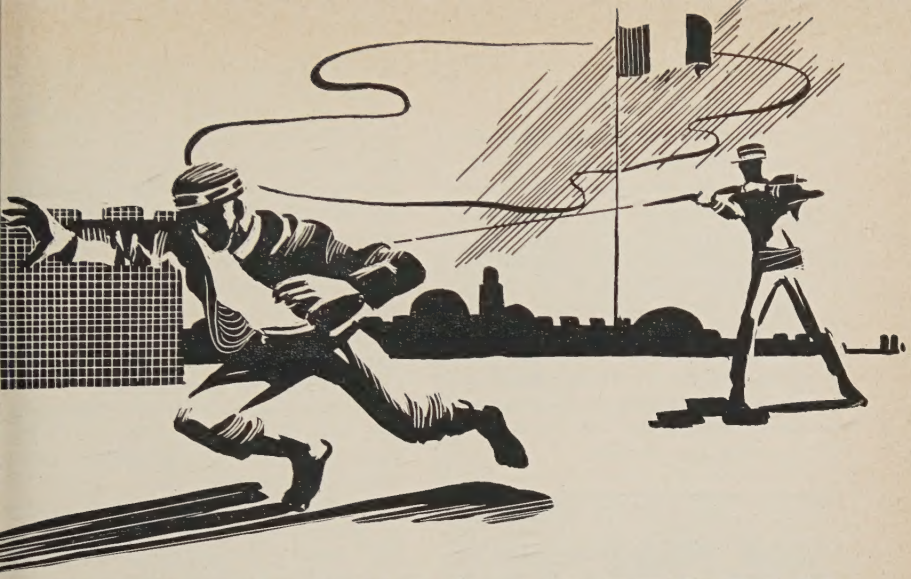
It will be fine if this passionate new devotion to civil liberties proves to be both sincere and lasting, but it might be well to reserve judgment for a while. As Norman Thomas, speaking also at Carnegie Hall (see cover photo), said, "It took a while for Saul of Tarsus to persuade the early Christians that he had really been converted. I don't think I can take [Eugene] Dennis [General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA] quicker than they took Saul."

Monument

At least one national peace organization has been invited to help raise money for the erection of a "great National Monument" to Douglas MacArthur in Washington, D. C. The invitation came from the American Federation of Conservative Organizations, which confesses its eagerness to help by providing "important speakers on magnetic tape, posters, tickets, coordination, national publicity, and organizational assistance."

In case you'd like to be in on it, the big push starts with giant, old-fashioned rallies and family picnics at "National Shrines such as Valley Forge, The Alamo and Bunker Hill." Speeches will be made "by patriots like Senators Eastland and Jenner, General Charles A. Lindbergh, and Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah," the last-named of whom has established his claim to fame by refusing to pay income taxes so long as the money is used for foreign aid.

Along with raising money for the MacArthur monument, the picnicking families, says the AFCO, will give the "ultra-Liberal forces . . . the most terrible, the most discouraging Fourth of July they've ever had!"



THE FRANCO-ALGERIAN WAR

by T. Noel Stern

EVERY French schoolboy knows that Algeria is a province of France opened by rugged colonists and heroic soldiers around 1830. Although Algeria lies across the Mediterranean, it is officially an integral part of the French homeland. Its four *départments* are considered quite distinct from the autonomous kingdoms of Tunisia and Morocco on Algeria's eastern and western borders.

However, most of the soil and most of the population of Algeria comprise a province of the Maghreb, the westernmost region of Arab civilization. Nine-tenths of the Algerians respond more warmly to propaganda and military aid from Cairo than to appeals for loyalty and proposals of economic reform made by French Premier Guy Mollet and his Resident Minister in Algeria, Robert Lacoste. The seriousness of the revolution which broke out in Algeria in November 1954, under the command of the National Liberation Front, was not recognized by the French public until this January. The intensity of the situation became further evident with the manifestations of Europeans in Algiers in early February. Moreover, French newspapers have published maps showing the control of large areas by the rebel army.

The importance of the crisis becomes clear when one considers the weakening of the French empire

About the Author

T. Noel Stern is the director of the Foundation des Etats-Unis (United States Foundation) at the University of Paris. Before going to Europe, Dr. Stern taught political science at Boston University and was chairman of the Peace Committee of the New England Society of Friends. A Fulbright grant brought him lectureships at the universities of Rennes and Strasbourg. Dr. Stern has contributed to the **New Republic,** the **Progressive, School and Society,** and the Boston University Law Review.

since the last war. During the war the Arab nations of Syria and Lebanon achieved independence from French rule; and in 1948 France had a difficult time suppressing a rebellion in Madagascar. Soon after, the French enclaves in India were absorbed by independent India. The Viet-Minh has gone under Communist rule; and the ties of Ngo Dien Diem in southern Indo-China to France are largely theoretical. The Saar, France's economic dominion in Europe, has clearly expressed its desire to return to Germany. Just recently Morocco and Tunisia assumed a status of "independence and interdependence" within the French Union. France is now worried because Bourguiba, leader of the Tunisians, has said that he would not stop Tunisians from volunteering for the Algerian war.

Strategy and Prestige

A key point to French leaders is that Algeria is the "archway" linking "metropolitan France" to its vast African territories. If North Africa should be lost, then France might well lose Black Africa too.

To the minority of Poujadists and French fascists, the issue is one of preserving the "heritage of our ancestors," and of defending the French Union against dismemberment by untrained peoples and inferior civilization. The extreme right cries against dominion of the Paris government by ideologists, rotten politicians, and "homeless wanderers" who would give away all of France's possessions.

To the average citizen the problem is more complicated. The French voter is concerned about national prestige, and hopes to maintain his culture and language in distant parts of the world. He has the very practical desire to conserve job opportunities in Algeria and the colonies, and to exploit the economic wealth of French territories. However, the nasty defeat at Dien Bien Phu weighs heavily on the French conscience, as does the need to complete postwar reconstruction in France. France wants more home-building and fewer broken homes.

The country is faced with a Poujadist dilemma. It wants its government to keep Algeria in France; yet it is unwilling to pay the government the taxes necessary for the military effort.

Social Divisions in Algeria

In terms of Algeria itself, the problem is that nine million Mohammedans are dominated by a minority of one million Europeans. The Mohammedans are poor and religiously fanatical. The Europeans are enterprising and highly jingoistic.

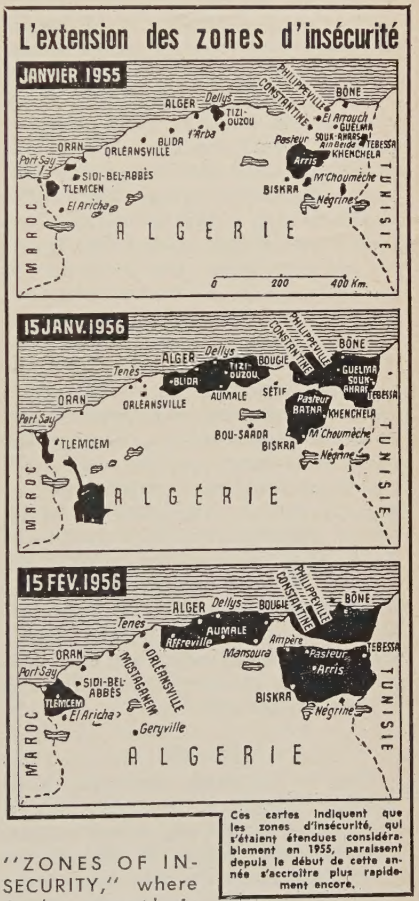
Both in psychology and in cultural heritage the Algerian Europeans differ from the French north

of the Mediterranean. Two-thirds of the Algerian colonists are of Spanish, Italian and Maltese background; and only about 300,000 settlers are of French origin. In their attitude toward work and toward subject peoples, the North African Europeans are harder and more "Texan" than the civilized inhabitants of metropolitan France. Although the average Frenchman on the European continent has a rather liberal and open feeling on race, the Europeans of Algeria are more like Americans in our own South. While Algeria lacks the full degree of segregation found in our Southern states, too much superiority is shown the native population.

After the September 1954 earthquake in Orléansville, Algeria, I talked with an Algerian settler. Although he was concerned about the severity of the tremor, he found that "it was not so bad after all since most of the people killed in the quake lived in the *douar*"—the native quarter of Orléansville.

One of the things which sparked the November 1954 revolution was this blind attitude of the European settlers, who were much slower in bringing relief to the Mohammedan victims of the disaster than to the small number of European victims. Even in metropolitan France one noticed an important difference. Although collections were made for the sufferers, far less interest was shown than in the victims of the floods of Holland.

Yet despite the blundering social policy of the French colonists one cannot condemn *in toto* the record of 125 years of work by French citizens in Algeria. If you ask a Frenchman what he has done in Algeria, he will reply, "We have created everything in this country: roads, railways, harbors and airports, dams and irrigation systems, modern cities, hospitals and schools." When the French came



"ZONES OF INSECURITY," where Arab strength is heaviest, are shown as of January 1955 (top), January 15, 1956 (middle) and February 15, 1956 (bottom). Caption of French newspaper map reads: "These maps indicate that the zones of insecurity, which had extended considerably in 1955, appear to be growing even more rapidly since the beginning of this year."

to Algeria there were only two million inhabitants; now there are ten million.

One might compare the work of the French colonizers with the American pioneers, who pushed back the Indians to make social progress. However, there is a significant difference, for the armies of "Père" Bugeaud, the general who ruled Algeria from 1836 to 1847, exterminated far fewer natives than did the American settlers. Moreover, there are more "Indians" in Algeria today than there are foreign colonizers, and it is possible that the balance of power may lie with the natives.

Like the Europeans, the indigenous Algerians are divided into dissimilar ethnic groups. In the past the conflict has often been sharper between elements of the native population than between the Europeans and natives, although the revolution has welded together groups within the Moslem fold. In the past the original inhabitants have often been played against the newer Arab population by the French colonizers. Both elements of the Mohammedan population are strongly anti-Jewish; and are hostile to the even smaller trading sect of Mzabites.

Poverty

Despite the roads and cities built by the French, a basic problem is the grinding poverty of the Islamic masses. One reason is that European farmers own the best land, and devote some of the finest soil to vineyards which serve no purpose in nourishing Mohammedan teetotalers.

More than a million natives are unemployed and many are underemployed. The *average annual* wage in Algeria is only $60, or less than the legal *minimum monthly* wage in Paris. Thus more than half the Mohammedans suffer continual hunger. In the city of Algiers alone, 80,000 people live in "Hoovervilles."

Impetus has been given to the problem by the birthrate, since more babies are produced by the 10 million Algerians than by the 42 million people in metropolitan France. After Costa Rica and Guatemala, Algeria has the highest birthrate in the world, far surpassing that of India. As a result Algeria is young, with half its population under 20 years of age; in contrast with France, which is often labeled a gerontocracy. Despite the schools which France has given her four trans-Mediterranean *départments,* 80 percent of Algerian youth have been left outside the school door.

So France finds herself at war with a young people spurred to revolution by illiteracy, hunger, poor housing and unemployment.

Political Inequality

Another cause is political inequality. Big "colons"—colonials—control the police, politics and press. Best known of the European politicians are Henri Borgeaud, "king of the vineyard," and Georges Blachette, "king of alfalfa." Their competing machines are popularly known as the "Borjo circus" and the "Blachette boys."

Borgeaud (not to be confused with the earlier General Bugeaud) is a descendant of an old colonial family who not only owns vast agricultural domains, but also cigarette factories, mines and other industries. Henri Borgeaud has served as head of the conservative Radical Socialist Party in the French Senate, and controls most of the newspapers in Algeria. At

the present day he is participating in a factional revolution within the Radical Socialist Party which denounces the liberal social policy for Algeria advocated by Mendes-France, who ruled the party during the past year.

George Blachette owns the *Journal d'Alger,* and was a member of the conservative Independent Party delegation to the French Assembly; but he is not now a deputy since elections were not permitted in Algeria in January. Blachette is reputed to have been the richest member in the Parliament. He is closely allied with Jacques Chevallier, former Petainist, and present mayor of Algiers. Chevallier was Secretary of War in the Mendes-France Cabinet at the outbreak of the revolution in 1954.

The Statute of 1947

One of the main reasons for the revolution has been the Statute of 1947, under which the government of Algeria is organized. According to the general principles enunciated in the statute, all Algerians are equal before the law. But in striking contrast to this, further provisions of the same law divide the Algerian electorate into two voting *collèges,* following the pattern in the French colonial territories. Europeans and a few Europeanized Mohammedans are in the First Collège, while the great mass of the indigenous people are in the Second. These are the inhabitants who wish to preserve their social order in accordance with Koranic law.

In the Paris National Assembly the million European Algerians have 15 deputies when elections are held, while the nine million non-Europeans also have only 15 deputies. If Algeria were represented in proportion to its total population, it would send about 125 delegates to Paris, and most would represent the people now in the Second Collège.

Another serious problem is the tradition of corruption in the Second Collège, which results in the election by the Mohammedan electorate of representatives dictated by French administrative officials. Further grievances are the arrest of natives without notice, and their internment in concentration camps in the desert. The suppression of the Arab language and the control of the Mohammedan clergy by the administration have also incited the people to rebellion.

Violence in Algeria and France

The intensity of the situation is revealed by the incidence of deaths and shootings. Last year rebels in the town of Ainabid in the Constantine Department massacred a group of women and children and an aged crippled man. A four-day-old baby was shot and then decapitated on the edge of a bathtub with a cutlass. Afterwards the bodies were mutilated with axe, pick and poignard. Two days later, in the same town of Ainabid, a French gendarme cold-bloodedly shot an Algerian prisoner in the back, in full view of a Fox Movietone newsreel camera.

When Jacques Soustelle was dismissed from his post as Governor-General in February, 75,000 Europeans demonstrated and tried to block him from boarding his ship, since Soustelle was sympathetic to their cause. This was followed by still rowdier demonstrations by the Europeans when Prime Minister Guy Mollet visited Algiers. Stones and tomatoes were hurled at a procession led by the Premier; and Mollet himself was splattered with

sod. After Mollet laid a bouquet at the monument to the war dead, teen-agers trampled the flowers.

February 6, the date of these quasi-fascist demonstrations in Algiers, brought back uncomfortable memories. This was the 22nd anniversary of the day in 1934 when a huge crowd of young men, massed by the fascist Croix de Feu in Paris, tried to storm the Chamber of Deputies and was fired upon by security forces. This scene was followed a week later by an ugly counter-demonstration by the left.

At the present time, the result of continual turmoil has been twofold. First there has been a polarization of political groupings to right and left, and second there has been a show of national unity which half masks the underlying dissension within the French population. Poujadists and rightist students made a racist-inspired attack on a prayer meeting of North African students in Montpellier recently, under the leadership of the former president of the National Student Union. Still more recently, organized gangs have broken up meetings of pro-Algerian leftists in Paris.

Conservatives have been outraged by demonstrations of Algerians in the national capital, where the Algerian flag was publicly displayed. A mass procession of workers and students carrying the Algerian flag and marching toward the Chamber of Deputies was broken up by the police and 2700 persons were arrested. Additional police measures have checked a reverse migration of Algerian workers from France to the Algerian front.

Conservative Socialists

During the December electoral campaign the Socialists and their allies sharply attacked the Independents and other conservative parties for their shortsighted policy in Africa in the past. The Socialists ridiculed the repression and imperialism espoused by the conservative governments that preceded them. The anti-colonialist campaign of the Socialists preached economic reform and equality for Algeria, and expressed sympathy for the nationalist movements in North Africa. Part of the campaign publicity of the Socialist-led Republican Front was strongly anti-conscription.

But now that they are in power, the Socialists and their allies are criticized for pursuing a policy which is too much like that of their conservative predecessors. This criticism has come from Socialist leaders in the National Assembly, and from the more liberal press. Thus it is quite possible that the coalition will soon break up and be replaced by a more conservative government. The main factor weighing in favor of Mollet is that his rivals do not wish to take over his job until Mollet has taken the blame for a number of unpleasant decisions which the political situation has thrust upon the government.

Mollet has promised to recognize the "Algerian personality," to push essential social reform, and to divide up the big estates of Borgeaud and other monopolistic "colons." Mollet has offered complete democratic elections in Algeria within three months after the rebels lay down their arms. But Mollet has won almost unanimous votes of confidence from the French Chamber, granting him extraordinary military powers and permitting a state of siege in Algeria. Curiously

enough, the small group of deputies who voted against Mollet included the Poujadists and other reactionary defenders of the French Empire. But the 150 "anti-colonialist" Communists in the French Assembly voted for Mollet's policy of military pacification *first* and of social reform *afterwards*.

Choices for France and Algeria

One can seriously question whether the people of metropolitan France have chosen wisely. However, they are united momentarily on a policy of military force. This may well mean a new colonial war which could drag on indecisively for years, after the fashion of the Indo-Chinese War.

In her decision to maintain the economic and psychological burden of her African empire, France is sapping off energies which might be directed toward European Union and draining off funds which might go to more schools, houses and factories in metropolitan France. However, most of the French public remain convinced that they are fighting for a higher set of social ideals in seeking to maintain French civilization along the North African coast.

Brave Nuke World

Obviously a war of thermonukes* offers little prospects of victory, as we usually think of military victory. All that can be hoped for is that those of us who survive will be tough enough to have the will and the energy to pick up the pieces and try to remake some kind of livable world . . .

Perhaps the end will be heralded when we realize the enemy bombers are no longer coming over . . .

At that time the Army will become rather important, will it not? Assuming, of course, that it . . . has survived.

That Army force must go in ready to fight. For if our Army has survived we must assume that the enemy's has too.

Why go after the survivors? you ask. Let them grovel in the stinking ruins of their cities until they expire. But can you be sure that they will expire? Can you be sure of anything until you have men—armed men, **soldiers,** on the ground?

Let them stick up their heads and we'll plaster them with another thermonuke, you say. What heads? Won't they be here, there, and everywhere—small bands of armed, desperate men—no target for an atomic bomb? Even if you pinpoint a decent-sized band of them, they will hardly be there when the bombers come at your bidding.

All this is guessing, you say? So it is. But who can penetrate the dark veil of the future and assure us that it can't happen something like this?

And if it does so happen, will it not be the Army—the soldiers on the ground—that will deliver the blows that achieve the final decision? As armies always have.

—from an editorial
in The Army Combat Forces Journal, December 1955

* military jargon for any thermonuclear weapon

SOURCE BOOKS OF violence

BY ALBERT FOWLER

LITERATURE holds an ancient and honorable reputation as a carrier of culture and guardian of society, and many look up to the great literary figures of the past as if they belonged to a race apart. Greatness in literature today, however, has several connotations, and the term means different things to different people. It does not necessarily refer to moral or spiritual stature, and often is associated with those who win the Nobel Prize, the Pulitzer Prize, and the general acclaim. The question of what makes a writer great—that threefold interaction among talent, taste, and cultural trends—like the age-old problem of what constitutes art, is beyond our present purpose.

Once a writer gains the front rank he exerts a tremendous influence not only on the tastes of his readers but over the minds of a host of budding authors by setting them a style in the choice of subject matter and the means of handling it. He is imitated and paraphrased in the sincerest forms of flattery and, when he achieves popular success and his books make the best-seller list, few critics dare take issue with him. If he celebrates the elements of cruelty and brutality, then reader, writer, and critic find merit in the sadistic

and the torturing. If he rejoices over the qualities of kindness and mercy, the others rejoice with him.

There is apt to be a curious blindness to the power of literature among liberals and advocates of peace and goodwill. Their tendency is to overestimate the journalist, to magnify the dispatches of a foreign correspondent, and to slight the enduring work of a literary craftsman which may guide the course of men's thinking for decades. They often do not distinguish between the book of the moment and the book of the age, between the book which is symptom and the book which is source. They are prone to look everywhere except in the pages of a novel for the causes of war and violence. They search the facts of history, the data of science, the laws of economics, and the dicta of judges for the clues to conflict, but the idea that a storyteller can incite men to battle and coarsen them to endure its horrors is seldom considered. Yet even in this time of outsized weapons, capable of devastating whole cities at a stroke, the old saying is still quoted that the pen is mightier than the sword.

Three Nobel Winners

Within the seven-year span from 1947 to 1953, the highest literary award of Western civilization was presented in turn to a Frenchman, an American, and an Englishman. The Nobel Prize for literature went first to André Gide, whose stories and personal journals are widely read in this country and whose brief political flirtation with the Soviet Union ended in mutual disillusion. He died only a few years after receiving this award, at the ripe age of nearly ninety. In 1953 the prize went to Winston Churchill, to the surprise of many admirers who think of him more as a politician than as a writer—and to his own disappointment in the light of his preference for the Nobel Prize for peace. Between these two elderly gentlemen came William Faulkner, a middle-aged Mississippian who ventured into international politics only last year in his book *A Fable*, which deals with the First World War. All three prizewinners have in common an interest in violence—Gide and Faulkner in its personal aspect, and Churchill in its mass aspect.

These noted writers have achieved their position because they possess outstanding talent in the use of words, amazing power to sway men's minds through the printed page. It is a rare occasion in the life of a society when a Faulkner, a Gide or a Churchill appears, and it is right to recognize him as a man of genius. His genius, however, can be used for good or ill, and it should be the business of readers and critics to help direct its development.

The emergence of such a writer is as extraordinary as the appearance of an atomic scientist like Enrico Fermi, a winner of the Nobel Prize in physics. Each in his own field controls a source of enormous potential for good or ill. There continues to be serious discussion in liberal circles of the danger of applying the explosive atom to destructive purposes, but hardly a murmur is made about the threat of applying the explosive word to human brutality. One wonders whether the peril from the word has been swallowed up in the peril from the atom.

André Gide's novel, *The Counterfeiters,* is one of the most popular of his works among English and

American readers. It contains the story of a group of boys trading in illicit goods and services and a schoolboy "thrill" murder, brilliantly interwoven with a family history of seduction and infidelity. Gide is not only a master of intricate construction and flawless style, but he has elaborated a philosophy to defend the studied absence of moral and spiritual judgments in his fiction. His theory holds that the imagination is the sole guide to action and the proper guardian of thought. Follow the whim of the moment, he argues, and let right and wrong take care of themselves. The man freed from the trammels of a moral code is able to think beautiful thoughts and is absolved from responsibility for the social results of his actions. Thus Gide's philosophy amounts to a surrender to aesthetic values. In his journal he declares: "The most beautiful things are those that madness prompts and reason writes." He reduces intelligence to a status of subservience to impulsive desire and unconscious purpose. Years ago Gide was accused of corrupting the youth of France with his belief that the writer is accountable only to himself and to his aesthetic standards, but he and his precepts won a relatively easy triumph.

Churchill is a remarkable example of a writer who employed the proceeds of his profession to support the pursuit of a political career. A descendant of the great military strategist, the Duke of Marlborough, Churchill entered the British army as a young man and obtained special leaves to visit the border wars of India's northern frontier and report them to the newspapers back home. He had a nose for trouble and as war correspondent during the Boer War he was captured by the enemy and created something of a sensation from which he reaped handsome dividends.

The books he fashioned out of these adventures and the tours he made barnstorming England and America gave him more than a comfortable income and allowed him to stand for Parliament and serve as First Lord of the Admiralty during the First World War and Chancellor of the Exchequer some years later. The disaster at Gallipoli ended his Admiralty career, and he lacked the confidence of the Tory leaders from the time of the general strike until the Second World War.

"The Sleep of the Saved"

Churchill's biography of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, stands out as his literary triumph and shows his talent as a first-rate writer of history. Both as author and as politician his chief preoccupation was war, and his name will forever be associated with the staging of battle and the clash of armies on a world scale. Churchill's call for "blood, sweat, toil and tears," his hand raised in the V-for-Victory salute, typified his fighting spirit as did his report of his first night after hearing the news of Pearl Harbor: "Being saturated and satiated with emotion and sensation, I went to bed and slept the sleep of the saved and the thankful." His desire for military triumph deprived him of the Nobel Prize for peace, which in 1952 had gone to Albert Schweitzer, and which Churchill wanted more than the Prize for literature.

William Faulkner may not be as familiar to his own countrymen as the wartime prime minister of England, but he enjoys a wide popu-

larity. Five of his novels are available in Modern Library editions, and he is second only to Shakespeare and Proust on that publisher's list. His most popular novel, *Sanctuary,* is advertised on the jacket of its Modern Library edition as "a tense and impassioned narration of a horrific aspect of life that only the vigorous and the healthy-minded can bear without wincing"; a story that "arouses the most extreme enthusiasm or revulsion." It is made up of murder, lynching, abduction, rape, and the miscarriage of justice in their most sensational dress. When it first appeared, the Saturday Review of Literature expressed the opinion that in *Sanctuary* sadism reached its American peak. Perhaps because Faulkner elaborated no theory to defend his literary practice but let his stories speak for themselves he has not had to face the charge of corrupting his fellow citizens.

Horrors for Profit

It has been argued that books like *Sanctuary* are written as anguished appeals to society to repent and reform, but this suggests that writers like Faulkner neither know what they are doing nor realize the effect their stories have on the reader. Instead of presenting his tales of horror as examples of a state of affairs which should be ended as quickly as possible, Faulkner has traded on the terror and rehearsed his typical tortures in volume after volume. If these stories are written simply to mirror contemporary conditions without comment, they fail to carry out this purpose. The comment is implicit in the aspect of life picked up by the reflecting glass, and the choice of material in Faulkner's novels has been highly profitable.

Many liberals look on fiction as too frivolous for consideration when the stricken and starving are crying for help. Stilling the ache of thought and the pain of unsolved problems with the anodyne of good works allows the storyteller to pander to the emotions of the natural man without criticism from these intelligent and sensitive people. He is permitted to stir men's animal brutality to the point where gas chambers and atom bombs are accepted and tolerated in the imagination of less critical readers. To allow the novelist to employ high literary talent in a celebration of the cruel and the savage with the tacit consent of perceptive religious people who are otherwise occupied is to heed the symptom of evil and overlook the source.

The Pulitzer Prize for the novel is an American counterpart of the Nobel Prize for literature. A comparison of the two is rewarding. Although the Pulitzer Prize carries a stated preference for books dealing with American life, it was given to Faulkner not for any of his stories about his native Mississippi but for *A Fable,* which is laid in France in 1918 and pictures an imaginary mutiny during the First World War. The Nobel Prize came to Faulkner in 1949, six years before this book was published, in recognition of the life he evoked from Jefferson City and Yoknapatawpha County. The Pulitzer judges waited till Faulkner began to wrestle with the moral problem, till he went beyond the story itself and took up the spiritual implications of the story, before they gave him their prize. Their restraint is notable, and emphasizes Faulkner's serious purpose in attempting to discuss the question

of war and peace in the light of the Christian message.

The other four Americans honored by Nobel Prizes for literature —Sinclair Lewis, Pearl Buck, Eugene O'Neill and Ernest Hemingway—won the Pulitzer Prize before they received the Nobel awards. The Pulitzer judges have also made outstanding choices among the lesser-known American authors. John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano,* for example, is one of the finest books to come out of the Second World War, with its warm sympathy for the victims of violence and its sensitive manner of meeting their need. Oliver LaFarge's *Laughing Boy,* John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath,* and Marjorie Kinnan Rawling's *The Yearling,* all testify to a belief in man's love for his fellows and a desire to nourish that love on the part of the men who administer the Pulitzer awards.

Violence in literature and on the battlefield has increased over the past half-century, but because of their more tangible qualities the tanks and jet-fighters and atomic explosives tower above the equally important pages of personal torture and cruelty. At first glance it might be thought that every new horror in warfare is reflected by a new license on the part of the writers, but it is by no means a one-sided affair.

The Moral Downtrend

Literature and warfare affect each other very closely, and the interplay of their destructive characteristics incite both participants to higher levels of violence against the individual and the group. Neither one is a mirror of the other. Each reflects the general loosening of moral and religious discipline that has been evident in western culture for almost two centuries.

There is considerable soul-searching over the violence in children's comic books but very little over the violence in the literature for adults. The lesser horrors of a Mickey Spillane mystery attract more criticism than the monumental horrors of Faulkner's *Sanctuary.* The modern conscience is concerned with the symptoms of mental illness, but shows scant awareness of the way a precariously balanced mind may be influenced by the pointless crimes depicted by the novels of Faulkner and Gide. The details of actual and overt terror and violence, whether in battle, asylum or picket line, constantly overshadow the stories that celebrate the violent and the terrible. Actions speak louder than words, but words are often the source of action.

"The Most Horrific Tale"

When a William Faulkner is raised to the first rank and his writings are crowned by the Nobel Prize, he attains a prestige that is difficult to counter. His books are quoted and praised and imitated, and his ideas with them. Rash is the teacher or the student who risks position and standing by criticizing so famous a body of work.

Faulkner's introduction to the Modern Library edition of *Sanctuary,* always the most popular of his novels, is a startling revelation of the modern temper. "To me," he says, "[the book] is a cheap idea, because it was deliberately conceived to make money . . . . I began to think of books in terms of possible money, I decided I might just as well make some of it myself. I took a little time out, and

speculated what a person in Mississippi would believe to be current trends, chose what I thought was the right answer and invented the most horrific tale I could imagine and wrote it in about three weeks and sent it to Smith, who had done *The Sound and the Fury* and who wrote me immediately, 'Good God, I can't publish this. We'd both be in jail.' "

The urge to turn his words into coin is still upon Faulkner when he concludes his introduction to Modern Library readers: "I hope you will buy it and tell your friends and I hope they will buy it too."

Sanctuary was hailed by the critics in much the same manner as *The Sound and the Fury,* a great book, insane and monstrous and terrible but no worse than the life it mirrors. They were wonder-struck at Faulkner's power to suggest a hundred horrors behind the immediate horror, his ability to tell of human evil working out its strange and inevitable destiny without respect of persons. The critics bowed politely to the hesitant, saying with Clifton Fadiman that it was not hard to understand the viewpoint of the sweetness-and-lighters who were dismayed by Faulkner's sadism and morbidity.

Symbol *vs.* Reality

The argument that Popeye, central figure of *Sanctuary,* is a hideous symbol for a hideous industrialism, that his violence and cruelty and lack of moral scruple typify outstanding characteristics of modern civilization, is a plausible defense of Faulkner's most popular story. An equally cogent line of reasoning, however, holds that Popeye is an unlovely projection of something unlovely in his creator, some unresolved anger or hatred, some abiding sense of despair, some haunting fear of disaster. If it is the privilege of the writer to invent "the most horrific tale he can imagine" and have its murder, abduction, rape and lynching upheld by the critics as ingenious symbols for the wrong in modern society, then good and evil as realities are losing their meaning for the individual and are beginning to exist only as abstractions for man in the mass.

It is important—though obviously out of fashion—to base part of one's judgment of an author's worth on the way he handles this problem of good and evil. Despite all the torture and cruelty in *King Lear,* there is not much doubt how Shakespeare felt about the human values involved. Crime and injustice cry aloud for redress, and the heart is moved to pity and sympathy for the victims. But in *Sanctuary,* torture and cruelty seem to exist in and for themselves, senseless, stupid and bestial, divorced from any human value which might give them meaning. The title of an earlier book, *The Sound and the Fury,* is evidence of the author's intent. Much of the life Faulkner describes is truly a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing beyond the interplay of natural forces. Shakespeare uses his fools to puncture the prentensions of the high and mighty, but Faulkner's drooling idiots serve only to show how loathsome a creature man becomes without the cortical function.

It is the spirit of naturalism which inspires and sustains the present excess of destruction both in literature and warfare. The idea which nourishes the whoring, torturing, murdering characters in *Sanctuary* is the idea which sanc-

tions gas chamber massacres and obliteration bombings. The argument runs that natural man with his animal instincts has been forced into so rigid and so confining a straitjacket by the conventions of civilized society that he must break out of his fetters or die of frustration and impotence. Without this naturalistic philosophy there would still be murderers and torturers, and the hazards of war would continue to threaten the world. But the point is that all these forms of behavior are *encouraged* and *increased* by the belief in the primacy of instinct and impulse.

Who Is to Blame?

Who has allowed the philosophy of naturalism, and with it the literature of violence, to attain such popularity? It is easy to lay the blame on the critics, but they are largely dependent on public opinion, as are the publishers as well. The literate leaders of the community, men and women devoted to religious values, people busy with good causes, must take their share of responsibility. No censorship is needed, no league of decency, no blue laws. If these people read books like *Sanctuary,* if they understood the subject matter, discussed the meaning and influence of the literature of violence, the publishers would exclaim with more truth than Smith did: "Good God, I can't publish this." A public which enjoys the violent is required for a literature of violence.

It is an entire attitude toward life that is the core of the problem, an attitude that has been developing since the time of the French Revolution. Nietzsche and other apostles of this point of view welcome a world where God is dead, where morality and virtue no longer exist, and the daring individual stands alone beyond good and evil. This viewpoint pervades an influential segment of readers, critics and authors, and through them has established the taste for writers like Faulkner.

Mario Praz in his book *The Romantic Agony* has documented the hatred of God and the love of torture in a long line of literary figures from the Marquis de Sade to Baudelaire, and Edmund Wilson claims this dark side of Romanticism is essential to an understanding of the present situation. Albert Camus in *The Rebel* traces the roots of modern methods of terrorist dictatorship back to the revolt of many of these same writers against God and morality.

Independent journals like FELLOWSHIP have the opportunity to bring this literary tradition under the careful scrutiny of Christian critics. If it is, as Camus contends, a blasphemy, it should be so described for the benefit of the unwary and for the enlightenment of all. If it leads to despair and destruction, that should be clearly demonstrated. If it welcomes the crime as well as the criminal, the evil a well as the evil-doer, the sin and the sinner, this should be brought to the attention of the sensitive reader.

The tight bundle of good and evil that was vital to the Christian conception of life has split into its two constituent parts with the loosening of religious and moral discipline during the past hundred and fifty years. It is the fashion of many writers to portray evil as a separate element, a ruling principle that dominates whole areas of human existence. This has taken on cosmic proportions in the work of Faulkner and Kafka, and if to

escape its dominion the reader seeks an equally separate and cosmic good he evades reality, which is composed of good and evil bound together.

In this age of mechanization it is the reader's taste that is catered to because wihout his purchasing power books cannot be published. As a book-buyer he is subject to the same high pressures of salesmanship he meets when he buys a can of cherries, and it is as important for him to know what he is feeding his soul as what he is feeding his body. The only way to acquire this knowledge is by careful reading and discussion of modern literature in the light of moral and religious values.

Human life above the animal level is a constant struggle between right and wrong, and it is futile to picture it as all black or all white. Crime and lust and terror are vital to any true and deep characterization, but Cordelia's love and sympathy are needed to balance and underscore the wickedness of Lear's other daughters. Faulkner has realized this necessity in some of his later books, notably *A Fable*, which counterpoints peace and war in their Christian connotations. Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* shows how a sense of brotherhood can be expressed through the terrible events of a nation in crisis. There are books like Stephen Vincent Benét's *John Brown's Body* and Aldous Huxley's *Grey Eminence* that do not blink the violence of war but deal with it as part of a larger whole which contains the blessings of an ordered and peaceful society. William Bradford Huie's *The Execution of Private Slovik* and James Michener's *Sayonara* tackle the tangle of good and evil, understanding and misunderstanding, that grows out of war. These writers are perhaps not as gifted in the storyteller's art as Faulkner, but they are able to give balance and perspective to man's inhumanity to man.

The Roots of Inaction

Ninety-five percent of the thinking in Washington has been concentrated on military defenses. Indeed, what political strategy there is has been designed to support the military program. This, a reversal of the function of the military, makes political action the prisoner of military planning. By such means a nation can effectively "contain" itself into political inaction—which is where we are.

—Dorothy Thompson
in the Portland "Oregonian," Jan. 7, 1956

MUTUAL AID —MAN'S KEY TO SURVIVAL

IS MAN PEACEFUL BY NATURE

by Mabel Powers

MANY MEN have studied the behavior and nature of primitive man. It is heartening to find that a number of anthropologists have discovered undeniable proof of his innate goodness and peacefulness. One states: "There is not the slightest ground for supposing that earliest man waged wars."[1] Another records that "the nomad hunters of Borneo are, when exempted from greed of civilization, instinctively kind and moral."[2] London University scientists have produced convincing evidence of the peacefulness of primitive man, basing their arguments on a world-wide study of primitive people and on reliable reports of travelers and anthropologists concerning so-called savage peoples of all parts of the world.[3]

These travelers express unbounded amazement at finding peacefulness, contentment and a good family life among peoples who own no property and rely on food-gathering for their sustenance, sharing it freely. Such people are the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Negritos of the Philippines, some tribes of the Malay peninsula and southern India, the pygmies and bushmen of Africa, the aboriginal tribes of Australia, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Eskimos, and some North American Indian tribes. These primitive peoples, when uninfluenced by alien cultures, are happy, well-behaved and hospitable to strangers. They are faithful to their wives, treating them as equals (monogamy is the rule),

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Living Age*, January 1935.

[2] Hose and McDougall, "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo." *Human Nature*, Watts & Co., London 1926. Pages 24, 25.

[3] G. Elliot Smith, F. R. S., *Human Nature*, Watts & Co., London, 1927.

and kind to children. They are honest and truthful, and show a natural sense of right and justice. They have no property and live on terms of equality and cooperation, free from greed, envy, jealousy, and exploitation.

Dr. Smith says: "There is not a shred of evidence that man is born with hostile impulses." Confirming this statement, M. F. Ashley Montagu reports: "Man does not have to create a cooperative impulse. It is present at birth, as it is in the young birds and animals. . . . Life in which social feeling seems to be as natural as breathing, has been achieved by several human groups whom we called 'savage,' then 'primitive' and now, thanks to anthropologists, 'non-literate peoples.' They are food gatherers and hunters, live in peace with their fellows, are unacquainted with war, never do anything from the profit motive, and rarely [do anything] without thinking how it affects others. The child grows up to be a happy, secure person."[4]

No Word for War

Explorers like Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Sir Wilfred Grenfell and others who have known the Eskimos of the Arctic and Alaska, have been impressed by the consistent cooperation of the latter and their sense of responsibility to their fellows. Nansen records that they have no word for war. "It is wonderful," he writes, "in what peace and unity they live. Foreigners living among them find their children happy and adults cooperative, having a sense of security and belongingness.

Anauta's story of her people, the Baffinland Eskimos, confirms this. She writes:

> They are clean-thinking and -living; honest, gentle, truthful, mean what they say, trust each other, are happy and content. Their virtues are courage, dependability, ability to work long and hard with hands and minds. They always try to right a wrong before going to sleep not to carry over unpleasant things into a new day. There is humor, laughter, sociability in their life, also love and solitude and meditation. The northern lights tell them of a Great Good Spirit that pervades all life in whom they believe.[5]

I have found similar characteristics in American Indians, a living Christianity in so-called "pagans." When Indians dance and sing in ceremonials, most of them are giving praise and thanks to the "Great One," the divine presence in and about them, as sincerely as any white man ever prayed to his Heavenly Father. I have seen Indian faces become radiant as they danced (men and women dance apart) and they have said to me: "Yehsennohwehs, my feet so happy, Great Spirit so kind, I must dance. My heart is ever singing."

Their religion is integrated with every activity of life, planting, harvesting, feasting, journeying, healing, as well as in ceremonials. Conscious of the One Spirit of Life within them and in all forms of life, they express surprise that the white man is not aware of this living power. This personal realization of divine power has made it possible for the Indian to survive four centuries of oppression by four nations. It explains why he is still here as an Indian, tenaciously striving to maintain his Indianhood and cultural heritage.

Through the ages there has been

[4] M. F. Ashley Montagu, *On Being Human*, New York, 1950.

[5] Anauta, *The Land of Good Shadows*, John Day Co., New York, 1940.

bred into the very blood and bone of the Indian faith that has preserved the race. In tests given during the war to thousands of soldiers of all races, the Indian showed an above-average power to resist mental strain. An eminent scientific authority pointed out that this power was due to the Indian's philosophy of life, which makes God a universal, omnipresent power in nature and man.[6]

Nature: A Sanctuary

The Indian does not use nature for selfish ends. Nature is more than a place to hike, more than a scientific laboratory, or reservoir of supply. Nature is a sanctuary. Hew, cut, dig your way into Nature's holy-of-holies, and that intangible beneficent spirit of woods and waters escapes.

What happened that changed the original nature of man? Historians maintain that agriculture was the decisive factor; that it was responsible for the rise of ownership of land, financial and social inequality, and cultural change. Agriculture brought in its train many things, good and bad. Food production on a vast scale assured a stable food supply. Has it brought more enduring ways of life? The great combinations of wealth growing out of this change from food-gathering to food-production led to selfish ownership of land and property. Man became acquisitve. The self took root in the vast cultivated fields of barley and millet.

Dr. James H. Breasted says: "As each household gradually gained an habitual right to cultivate a particular field, they came to set up a perpetual claim to it, and thus arose ownership of land . . . the chief cause of the long struggle between the rich and the poor, which was earlier unknown when the land was free to all."[7] He states that civilization began in the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the nearer Orient or Near East. For thousands of years in these regions the women had gathered seeds of wild grasses and made them into rude cakes. They then learned to plant seed and cultivate the soil. The seeds planted were barley, emmer (a wild form of wheat), and millet. Irrigation was introduced. The new agricultural way of life brought the emergence of a leader who saw to the water supply and who supervised those who labored in the fields. This fact, together with the crafts which agriculture made possible, often contributed to class distinctions, and increased the power of the irrigation leader who sometimes rose to power by diverting the labor of the people to his own purposes, and thus occurred the development of this early mechanized and regimented civilization.

Extensive systems of irrigation were developed in Egypt and Babylonia. The pyramids were built for personal aggrandizement. Trouble began when a man or community tried to enslave its neighbors, and leaders demanded ease and luxury. Once a class system is established, violence results. Civilization brought ease and comforts, but also greed and suffering. Naturally, out of these social inequalities and unjust distribution of the good things of life, discontent, resentment and hatred were awakened in peoples not originally quarrelsome or cruel, but made so by violent practices and exploitations —and warfare resulted. Warfare

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[6] *Scientific American,* January 1927.

began when man entered the age of agriculture.[7]

Biblical history depicts a conflict of this kind arising from 1400 to 1200 B.C. between the early nomadic, pastoral, desert life of the Hebrew people and their entrance later into the rich agricultural civilization of Canaan. While they could not at once conquer the stronger-walled towns of the Canaanites, the fact that the Hebrews of northern Palestine mingled with them profoundly affected the Hebrew culture. Those who entered southern Palestine were more inclined to keep to their nomadic ways. It was chiefly from this Judean division that there came the remarkable growth of the Christian movement throughout the world.

Kessler and Kropotkin

Acquisitiveness is not a natural instinct. Nature is coöperative. Plants and animals live in friendly exchange. In 1880 at a Russian Congress of Naturalists, Dean Kessler suggested that besides the law of mutual struggle among different species, there is in nature the law of mutual aid which is more important for progressive evolution. Warfare, he said, is limited to animals' struggle with the elements and between different species, within each species, mutual aid is the rule. This idea was considered in *Mutual Aid,* by Peter Kropotkin, the Russian prince known to the world as a humanitarian and scientist. It was the 20th century's first work on cooperation. Kropotkin declared that mutual aid is the tendency of nature, not realized in full but always present. Weak creatures are protected with fleet wings, swift feet, or skill at camouflage. Fragile organisms have persisted and outlived brute force.

Darwin and Darwinism

Darwin's theory of the "survival of the fittest," widely interpreted by his contemporaries as proof of the biological superiority of brute strength still serves as a mainspring for today's armaments race. However, few persons who make reference to this Darwinian theory have apparently troubled to read Darwin, for the famed naturalist himself never construed his theory to mean that brute force naturally won out. In many instances, the "fittest" were to Darwin not the strongest physical specimens. This fact is emphasized in his *Descent of Man,* where Darwin's observations of mutual support within species provide a firm basis for Kropotkin's views.

That primitive people do not in original condition display tendencies toward violence does not mean that they are not capable of it, says Dr. Smith. "They can and do fight in defense of their lives, homes, families, and food stores. The absence of warfare is not due to lack of courage or deficiency of the instinct of hostility which they display when circumstances force them to fight. Hence it is not surprising to find violence among 'gentle and noble savages' after the shock of their contact with a civilization that reveals to them the unnatural vices of envy, greed, selfishness, and exploitation."[8] Recent biologists, while denying that there are human war instincts, concede that instincts of hostility do exist and that they can be used as a foundation for the war spirit.

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[7] Dr. James H. Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization,* Harper, New York 1926. Chapter 7.

[8] Smith, *Human Nature,* op. cit. 15.

The American Indians

On this continent all the first contacts between white men and Indians were friendly. Columbus, in his Journals, comments on the kindness and hospitality of the natives of the West Indies island which he named San Salvador: "They are a most gentle, peaceable, and generous people." When the *Santa Maria* was wrecked, the natives, instead of killing the shipwrecked mariners, befriended them and even saved their lives by defending them from tribes that had been made hostile through the cruelties of colonization.

In North America, the first act of Indian chief Samoset was to speak words of friendly greeting to the Pilgrims and to offer them corn. Both Samoset and another noble chieftain, Massasoit, befriended them for forty years; without the aid of these redmen, who were never known to have fought any man, white or red, the Pilgrim Fathers would have perished. Later those same Fathers turned and smote the hands that had fed them.

The friendly contacts of the Swedes, and of William Penn and the Quakers, with the Indians of the Delaware are too well-known to require extended comment. Both the Swedes and the Friends proved that kindness and justice are a greater protection than guns. The whole history of their early settlements is a shining example of the power of friendship, justice, and goodwill in proving the supremacy of peace methods in establishing racial relations. These settlements illustrated the shift of security from fear to a friendly basis and showed the practical value of disarmament. To the Indians, the distinctive Quaker hat became more powerful than a musket, or bow and arrow.

The Powhattan Confederacy was a peacemaking organization. The California Indians never fought, but lived in peace through respect of each tribe for the territorial boundaries of the surrounding tribes. The founding of the Iroquois League about 1570 is a remarkable illustration of the power of pacific means in overcoming the greatest warrior of that age.

The Iroquois League

Those ancient chieftains established a commonwealth of such democracy, justice, equality and brotherhood spirit that it endured for over two hundred years in New York State. And though its power was broken in New York in 1779, the Iroquois League lasted for three and a half centuries—until 1924—in Ontario, Canada. During the two centuries of its ascendancy it held a balance of power which influenced the rise and fall of England, France, the Netherlands and Spain in their struggles for a foothold on this continent.

"The underlying motive for the institution of the Iroquois League was to secure universal peace and welfare among men by the recognition and enforcement of the forms of civil government. The simpler units of the tribe surrendered part of their autonomy to the next higher units in such wise that the whole was closely interdependent and cohesive. The establishment of the higher unit created new rights, privileges and duties."[9]

The League guaranteed rights of popular nomination, referendum and recall, equal suffrage for men

[9] J. N. B. Hewitt, Bulletin 30, art I, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1906.

and women, freedom of speech, assembly, and worship. Deganawida was the spiritual founder of the League; an Onondaga chieftain named Hiawatha (not the hero of Longfellow's poem) became the spokesman.

The League was one of the forms of government examined by the founding Fathers of the American Constitution and was considered in developing the government of the United States.*

It is said that it took the Iroquois some sixty years to establish their League of Peace. Our present-day United Nations, after only eleven, need not be discouraged.

One of the most striking peace stories is that of the Pueblo Indians. When Coronado discovered them in 1540 they dwelt in some eighty villages in the Rio Grande basin, plying their ancient arts and crafts and engaging in an intensive system of agriculture. All the early historians commented on the beauty of their native products, which afforded undeniable evidence that these tribes had been living in peace for centuries before the coming of the Europeans.

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* Documents supporting this little-known fact include:

Lewis H. Morgan, *The League of the Iroquois.*

J. N. B. Hewitt, "A Constitutional League of Peace in Stone Age of America," Smithsonian Report, 1918.

Mabel Powers, *The Indian as Peacemaker,* Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1932.

Correspondence concerning League with J. N. B. Hewitt, American Indian ethnologist, Smithsonian Institute.

Mabel Powers, "El Primer Ensayo de Paz en America" Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Mexico D.F. Abril 1946. Reprinted in 1947 by Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs of United States Department of State for translation into various languages, and sent to the State missions of the world.

The Persistence of Ethics

"To outwardly subjugate a nonwarlike race with superior destructive material equipment was comparatively easy," says the late Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, "but to wipe out a culture that was centuries old, was impossible. . . . Esthetic and ethical values are persistent beyond all others; . . . fitness to live and survival do not depend on material efficiency: and that civilization that rests on force is most unstable of all; . . . races called by us inferior have qualities that are priceless to human society, . . . and in their special abilities lies our soundest insurance against spiritual decline and extinction by our own violence."[10]

Even today the Pueblos are contributing to American civilization some of its finest elements.

In the folklore of all peoples, there are stories of a "first people" who lived in peace and harmony. Until the invention of agriculture on a large scale in Egypt and Babylonia, the world enjoyed some such Golden Age of Peace as Hesiod pictured 2500 years ago. A disciple of Lao-tze in China, 604-532 B.C., writing of the Taoist religion of his master, said: "In an age of perfect virtue, men were upright and correct without knowing that to be so was benevolence: they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that to be so was loyalty; they were virtuous without knowing it was wisdom; they fulfilled their engagements without knowing that to do so was 'good faith.'"

The creation stories of Iroquois and Algonquin tribes tell of a time "moons ago" in which the "first

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[10] Edgar L. Hewett, D.Soc., LL.D., *Ancient Life in American Southwest,* 1930, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

people" lived in peace. I found Indians in the Lake Superior country longing for a return to that Age of Peace. An Ottawa woman at Wekwemiking, Manitoulin Island, told me her people knew of a time "when sorrow was unknown, when all men were at peace." Implanted in man through the ages has been the memory of peace.

Anima Natura Christiana

The Iroquois creation story relates: "It was Good Mind who created men-beings, molding them in his own image."[11] Tolstoy said the human soul is Christian in its nature. Concerning the natural Christlike spirit of the North American Indians, Arnold J. Toynbee writes: "It is remarkable that they should have been capable of making any creative response to the challenge of European aggression, seeing that they were almost continually 'on the run' from the moment of the arrival of the first English settlers down to the last Indian attempt at armed resistance in the Sioux War of 1890; and it is more remarkable that this Indian response should have been of a gentle character. . . . In these gleams of gentle light on a dark horizon we catch an arresting glimpse of the *anima Natura Christiana.*" (mind or spirit Christian by nature.)[12]

Facts of the food-gathering age fail to reveal definite signs of warfare. Fighting was not fundamental to man, nor was it part of his true character by nature. Man by nature was, and still is, peaceful, well-behaved, gentle and good when uninfluenced by alien acquisitive cultures. This fact is supported by the collected testimony of many anthropologists who, in their research, are rediscovering the truth the Great Teacher taught 2000 years ago. We read: God created man in his own image; He created all things. "And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good." [Genesis 1:31.] Jesus saw that God-likeness in man, that his spirit was like the Spirit of this Maker. Since man is a creation of a loving God, made to God's perfect pattern, his *natural* reaction to a person or a situation is peaceful and cooperative.

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[11] No. 437, *Bulletin of the University of the State of New York,* December 15, 1908.

[12] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (One-volume abridgement).

Peace Views Aired At Carnegie Hall Forum

Some 2,300 New Yorkers thronged Carnegie Hall on Sunday evening, May 27, to hear spokesmen for pacifism, socialism and Communism discuss "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace." Sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a principal goal of the forum was the appraisal of whatever new prospects, if any, had emerged from the recent repudiation of the wide-spread atrocities of the Stalin regime by present-day rulers of the USSR. Roger N. Baldwin, long-time director of the American Civil Liberties Union, served as moderator.

DEBATERS (l. to r.): Muste, Thomas, Dennis, DuBois; Chairman Lawrence; Moderator Baldwin.

Noteworthy as a reaffirmation of the free marketplace of ideas, the Carnegie Hall meeting was the first New York event in many years to bring together spokesmen for such widely divergent views. In dramatic contrast were the views expressed by Norman Thomas, long-time Socialist campaigner and noted champion of civil liberties, and Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, who was released from a federal prison last year after serving three years and eight months for violation of the Smith Act. Thomas presented the Communist leader with a series of questions which he said must be specifically and affirmatively answered before cooperation between Communists and genuine liberals would be feasible. He pointed to the fact that American Communists had seen fit to offer criticisms of Stalinist tyranny only after the Kremlin had done so, and cited Communist documents forecasting "inevitable war" against capitalism and counseling the use of "peace" slogans as a disguise for aggressive activities. He called upon Dennis to repudiate these views and to urge the abolition of the one-party system and the freeing of political prisoners in the USSR.

In reply, Dennis rejected the use of deceptive peace slogans and asserted that the documents quoted by Thomas were "obsolete." To Thomas' criticism of Communist one-party states, Dennis countered that "in most of the new Socialist

ICEBREAKER

The hecklers in the balcony, noisy enough to sound a note of conflict but not enough to disturb anyone, the hawkers of rival left-wing papers outside the hall, the partisanship of the divided audience, with each side alternately fidgeting, muttering and applauding, the venerable though forceful look of the speakers—all provoked a fond nostalgia. It had been years since such speakers had shared a platform, since an audience so diverse in its views sat in the same hall.

For years each group had talked to itself and won an easy ovation from those who came prepared to cheer. Last week's meeting was an icebreaker, a declaration that no one on the left was an untouchable. That was its biggest achievement.

—National Guardian

countries—Poland, Hungary, also China—there is more than one party." He said that if Communists ever came to power in the United States, it would be "fully possible" that other parties would continue to exist. The Communist leader made no reference to the ban on a second party in the USSR. (The morning following the Carnegie Hall debate, the *New York Times* reported that four unidentified academicians had been expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a result of a memorandum they submitted to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party, in which they asked for the formation of a second party as a safeguard against dictatorship.)

Speaking for the pacifist viewpoint, FOR National Chairman Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., said, in his opening remarks as chairman of the forum, that the Fellowship stood in "fundamental disagreement with the Communist philosophy and program," but believed that "truth presented in the spirit of love" was the way to combat error.

A. J. Muste, as the pacifist member of the panel, pointed to the success of the nonviolent bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, as a model for the settlement of international disputes. "Dare anyone suggest any other solution there? Then let us apply the method in other situations," said Muste.

The veteran pacifist leader, agreeing with Norman Thomas, asked for a "demonstration of deeds" to provide assurance that the "zig" of the current Communist espousal of democracy would not be followed by a "zag" as it has often done in the past. Muste observed, however, referring to non-Communists, that "others of us may be limited by our own rigidities," and called upon them to approach the Communists' new line with good will and objectivity.

The remaining speaker was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a Negro scholar and historian. Once well-known as editor of *The Crisis,* organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. DuBois has in more recent years been a participant in such ventures as the Progressive Party, the Communist-sponsored World Peace Congress, the Council on African Affairs and the *National Guardian.* In his prepared speech, Dr. DuBois gave a Marxist interpretation of the rise of inperialism and the development of "socialism." In the discussion that followed, Norman Thomas mentioned that, when he was running for mayor of New York on the Socialist ticket during the '20s, he asked Dr. DuBois for

support and DuBois told him he was voting for Jimmy Walker.

Audience response to the meeting was vigorous and spirited. There was frequent applause, and many of the speakers' remarks took the form of replies to written questions handed in by the audience.

Winding up the program, FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste said: "I am glad the discussion was frank, intellectually hard-hitting and without bitterness. I hope we have set an example to be followed by others." After the meeting, Muste said that the discussion had achieved "all that we had hoped for at this time."

119,000 FOR Leaflets Distributed in 2 Months

An FOR leaflet, *Freedom, the South and Nonviolence,* has been so well received that an initial supply was exhausted within a few weeks of its publication. The leaflet, a compact report on the crisis in race relations in the South and the FOR approach to it, was first mailed out as part of a special fund-raising appeal in mid-April. Approximately 80,000 of the handy brown and yellow folders were thus disposed of. Subsequent requests for additional copies necessitated a second printing.

In May, over a space of only four days, over 10,000 were handed out, the bulk of them at Madison Square Garden Civil Rights Rally on May 24, with 2000 distributed at the Carnegie Hall forum on May 27.

Besides information, the folder carried an appeal for funds and a name-and-address coupon. Hundreds of these coupons have been received in the FOR National Office, many of them from persons who have not previously communicated with the Fellowship, and cash contributions were well above the $2500 mark—and still rolling in—as FELLOWSHIP went to press. A third printing of *Freedom, the South and Nonviolence* was scheduled for mid-June to meet continuing demand.

California Sleuths "Report" on FOR

A 190-page booklet, provocatively titled "Patriotism or Pacifism, Which?" was published this spring as the 14th Report of the California State Senate Investigating Committee on Education. The report, which gives a sinister emphasis to "organized efforts to use our public schools and colleges for points of contact with youth pacifist groups," gives considerable attention to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, its officers, members and activities.

Though purportedly "not a report on Communists," the bulk of its text is a transparent attempt to link pacifism with Communism. Unfortunately, the report reached FELLOWSHIP too late for comment in this issue, but a full-length portrait of it will appear in September under the title "Anatomy of a Smear."

Executive Committee Nixes Nyack Headquarters

On June 4, after thorough study of the proposed purchase of a house in Nyack, N.Y. (see "News," June FELLOWSHIP), the FOR Executive Committee decided that total expenses involved in purchase and maintenance of the house would be prohibitive. New attempts at solving the National Office's housing problem are in the works, and future plans will be announced.

Tallahassee Nonriders In Montgomery Spirit

As the Montgomery bus protest movement rounded out its sixth month of solidarity, the Negro community of Tallahassee, Florida, acted suddenly and swiftly to apply the well-publicized "spirit of Montgomery" to bus segregation in their city.

On May 27, two coeds from Tallahassee's Negro Florida A&M University boarded a bus. Finding it near-filled, they sat down in seats reserved for whites, whereupon the driver, Max Coggins, ordered them to the rear. The coeds offered to get off the bus—but only if Coggins would refund their fares. The driver refused. The girls in turn refused to leave their seats and were arrested on charges of "creating a situation tending to incite a riot."

The next day, A&M students stood on the curbs and waved empty buses on their way. Soon word had spread to the entire Negro community—which comprises about 70% of Tallahassee's bus riders—and Negro leaders, headed by the Rev. C. K. Steele, organized an Inter-Civic Council not unlike M. L. King's Montgomery Improvement Association.

Indefatigable FOR Field Secretary Glenn Smiley, upon reading newspaper accounts of the Tallahassee protest, took a detour from his trip to Orangeburg, S.C., to confer with the Tallahassee leaders. Smiley addressed a session of the Inter-Civic Council's executive committee and discussed nonviolent resistance with its members. Reporting back to the FOR National Office, Smiley said: "They eagerly took FELLOWSHIP, were grateful for any help and are within the stream of Montgomery."

By the end of its first week, the Tallahassee protest was estimated to be 90%-100% effective. Car pools were in operation and the Negro community appeared to be set for a long siege.

White leaders were quick to seek negotiation. Malcolm Johnson, editor of the Tallahassee *Democrat*, helped to set up a committee of five whites and five Negroes as a step towards a permanent interracial council, and city officials offered a list of reforms within the framework of continued bus segregation. Charges against the Negro coeds were dismissed.

But Tallahassee Negroes appeared to want more than a genteel sop to their grievances. Setting full human rights as their goal, the tone of their conviction was eloquently evinced in the words of protest leader C. K. Steele: "We're going to keep on. We're going to pray, trust in God, and do whatever else we can to reach some fair and equitable terms with city and bus company officials."

NEFOR, WIL Protest Bomb in Ad

The New England Fellowship of Reconciliation joined forces with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on May 17 in calling for cessation of H-Bomb tests. An advertisement in both morning and evening editions of the Boston *Globe* (circ. 278,152) urged readers to write to President Eisenhower to halt the tests. The advertisement asked: "Will Russia be deterred by our heedless exhibits of H-bombs—or will she be challenged to further and greater tests? Will the United States seize this opportunity to take a first step toward an international ban on nuclear weapons, or will we in-

rease fear and make disarmament nore difficult?"

In other efforts to increase public wareness of this grave issue, the FOR Youth Section in Boston undertook five one-hour poster marches in various parts of the city and distributed more than 1200 information sheets underscoring the adverse political, biological and moral effects of H-bomb tests.

Tucson CO Fired For Mailing FOR Pamphlet

John Salyer, FOR member of Tucson, Arizona, was dismissed recently from his job as a substitute mail carrier for the U.S. Post Office there on grounds of "unfavorable publicity" arising from local newspaper accounts of Salyer's pacifist work.

Salyer was a member of a committee formed by the local FOR group and members of the Tucson Friends Meeting to publicize the draft law's provisions for conscientious objection.

Part of the project involved mailing 1100 copies of the FOR pamphlet, *It's Your Choice*, to graduating seniors of Tucson High School. No difficulties arose in obtaining the mailing list, which is customarily available to reputable civic, religious and other groups on payment of a one-dollar fee. But after the mailing, the principal of Tucson High said: "I didn't suspect the purpose. I am sorry it got into their hands."

A number of faculty members advised their students not to read the pamphlet, and rejected requests to allow FOR members to present their views in senior civics

Cinders and Debris

would be all that remained after a real-life H-bomb attack.

Mock raids create a false feeling that Something Is Being Done. But whether Something **is** Done depends on **you.**

The week of July 20-27 is aptly named "Operation Alert," for not only is it the title for Civil Defense's biggest extravaganza, but it also sounds the keynote for the pacifist witness against total annihilation. Alert yourself and your neighbors and friends with these Fellowship eye-openers. Single copies, 5c each; 10 or more, 2c each.

How to Hide From an H-Bomb:
Hard facts and common sense make hash of the official CD illusion of protection and survival in an H-bomb war.

A Sane Man's Guide to Civil Defense:
A popular lexicon of defense jargon with unvarnished definitions adding up to a pacifist moral.

Remember the dates—July 20-27.

Order now for Operation Alert!

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
21 Audubon Avenue **New York 32, N. Y.**

classes. Most students showed little interest. A few were curious enough to request further information. One of the two addresses on the pamphlet was John Salyer's.

Pacifists Challenge "Operation Alert"

Protest meetings, literature distribution, and even civil disobedience are being discussed by pacifists in various sections of the country as the date nears for Civil Defense's widely heralded "Operation Alert." The exercise, described as practice against the possibility of an H-bomb attack, will run from July 20 through 26 and will involve both the United States and Canada.

Civil Defense authorities, who have been under heavy fire recently in the press, have been reluctant to give details of the "drill." However, it is known that it will begin with a five-hour simulated "attack" starting at 10 a.m. Friday, June 20, and will include both CD and military forces. Evacuation of government offices will be tested in 15 cities, and the public ordered to take shelter for up to a half-hour during the "attack."

Pacifist criticisms will center as heretofore on the argument that realistically there is no such thing as defense in the H-bomb era, and that the effect of so-called "civil defense" is to hide this reality from the public. The only practical defense, say pacifists, is to end war.

A new leaflet, "How to Hide from an H-Bomb," has been prepared by the FOR National Office and is expected to get wide distribution during the exercise by members throughout the country, along with last year's widely reprinted "A Sane Man's Guide to Civil Defense."

Thirteen Elected To FOR National Council

An unusually low vote of FOR members, accounted for by delays in receiving the ballot, elected thirteen persons to the National Council in April. The thirteen represent half of the roster of that body that is elected by the national membership. They will serve two years, with the other half being elected next year.

In addition to those elected by the national ballot, the Council includes representatives from regions, denominational fellowships, and the FOR Youth Section.

Unforeseen delays in printing and mailing meant that many members did not receive the ballot until a day or so before April 15, the date it was supposed to be back in the national office. Although the actual count was extended to the end of April, there was no way of notifying the membership of this, and many ballots did not come in. The total received was something over 500, with the top vote for a single candidate being 494. The lowest elected candidate received 370.

Ten of the thirteen were incumbents reelected. Newly elected were George Houser, former member of the national FOR staff and now executive secretary of the American Committee on Africa; Richard A. Chartier, a former FOR youth secretary and now professor of public speaking at Ottawa (Kansas) University; and Frank Anderson, secretary of the Michigan FOR.

Reelected were Forest Ashbrook, Mrs. David D. Baker, James S. Best, A. Stauffer Curry, Mrs. B. W. Hamilton, Wilson Head, Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., John Oliver Nelson, Culbert G. Rutenber and Herman Will.

The Law Against War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Ten years ago witnessed the launching of a new arms race. National leaders said we had to have one. They said until war was abolished we must plan the biggest possible war—to keep peace.

President Truman then said we must have the war with Korea to ward off a bigger war. In his memoirs he reveals that this was his idea of keeping peace—peace through war. That's what he says!

Stassen has come back from the London talks about disarmament. Nothing has been achieved. All governments say they want to disarm, but have no choice until an effective control plan is devised.

We don't have to keep piling up armaments.

There is an effective control system. I know a way to abolish war. It is to enforce the *law*.

The law was made over at Nuremberg when the Big Powers tried the German war criminals. They agreed to recognize that international law had developed over the years to where it was a crime to start a war. What put teeth into the law was to hold individuals responsible. Up to that time international law considered war as an act of state. Individuals were not held accountable for what the government did. Nuremberg changed the rule. To be able to punish the Germans they wrote a law and declared that it was law for the whole civilized world in the future. So they said, but they didn't take any chances on having the law applied to themselves. They disbanded the international court when it finished trying the Germans.

Postwar political leaders thought that as long as there was no court in existence to enforce the law, they could return to war planning and preparing—like a dog to his vomit. They have been gravely mistaken. Though they left no international court in existence to enforce the law, the law hung over them— and all of us who participate in war activities—just like the common law against murder. Since 1946 killing human beings has been a crime, whether it is done retail or wholesale.

I choose to obey the law. When President Truman pitched us into the civil war in Korea, I refused to go along with him. Congress did not declare that war was necessary for the defense of the United States. It was plainly a war of aggression forbidden by the Nuremberg International Law. For nearly six years now I have openly refused any support for the Korean war or the post-Korean phases of preparing for future war. My position has been clearly announced in my refusal to pay income taxes as long as two-thirds of the Federal revenue is used for the consummation of crime.

A lawsuit in which the Government is trying to reach a fund on deposit in Court belonging to me and subject it to satisfaction of the 1949 assessment against me is now pending in the Federal Court in Nashville. It has been set for trial September 25, 1956. This case will be a test case to determine whether or not an individual citizen in the United States is immune from governmental coercion

to make him assist and support the government in international crime.

My purpose is to prove that when civilized nations, after World War II, treated starting a war as a crime they did not produce an abortion but gave birth to international law that is vital and living. All we have to do to devise an effective system for control of disarmament is to establish international courts to enforce the law of Nuremberg. Hold the guilty individuals personally responsible!

All other proposals having failed, why do we not compel our statesmen to propose the law be enforced? I appeal to all who desire the arms race ended to help me prove the law exists.

—FYKE FARMER
Nashville, Tennessee

God and the Right

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

M. L. King, Jr., writes in the May issue of FELLOWSHIP, page 7: "We ask people everywhere to pray that God will guide us, pray that justice will be done and that righteousness will stand. And I think through these prayers we will be strengthened; it will make us feel . . . the presence of Almighty God."

Perhaps he should consider this excerpt from Krishnalal Shridharani's *The Mahatma and the World*, page 108: " 'From God we could only ask for justice,' [Gandhi] wrote. To tell God that a side is right because it is our side and to commit Him to such prejudiced protection sounded a bit naive and illogical."

—RICE A. FELDER
Columbia, S. C.

Durgin Was YMCA Worker

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the very appreciative [tribute to Russell L. Durgin] (FELLOWSHIP, April 1956), perhaps none but YMCA laymen and secretaries will note the fact that you omit mention of Durgin's occupation and employer.

Some of us who share [his] occupation and employer regret deeply that persons reading FELLOWSHIP are denied the knowledge of what movement took him to Japan and enjoyed his employed professional leadership throughout his active life.

—PHILIP H. MAYER
Associate Area Secretary,
Pacific Southwest Area Council,
National Council of the Young Men's Christian Assns.,
San Francisco, Calif.

ED. NOTE: Mr. Mayer's regret is shared by FELLOWSHIP's editors, who confess that space considerations led them to cut—unfortunately in the wrong place. Russell Durgin, of course, was for many years a secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA in Japan and Manchuria, and the IFOR tribute from which FELLOWSHIP's news item was taken gave prominent place to this fact.

the time is now!

To work for peace, write to:

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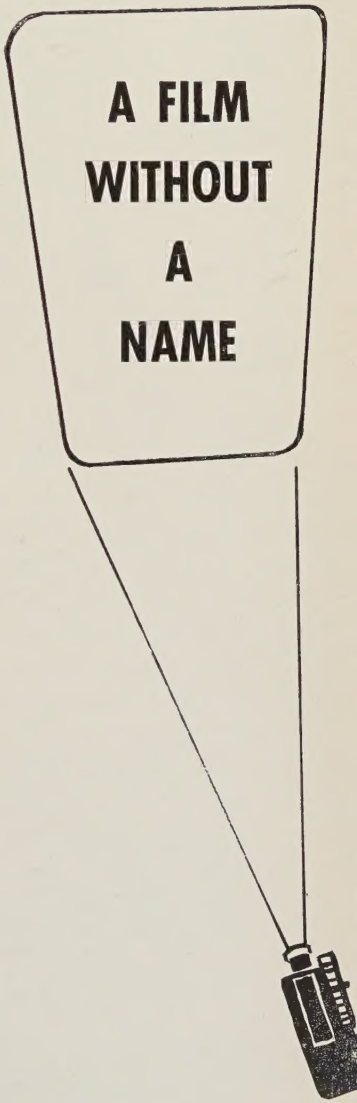
FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Paul G. Macy, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Wilson Riles, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.; *New York:* Kent Larrabee, 225 West 34th Street, N. Y. 1, N.Y.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.; *Mid-South:* Robert Cannon, 914 19th Avenue South, Nashville, Tenn. *National Field Secretary:* Glenn E. Smiley, 21 Audubon Avenue, N. Y. 32, N. Y.

COMING...

A film that tells the story of Montgomery, Alabama—of empty buses and of a people taking to the sidewalks and organizing car pools, struggling against a second-class citizenship they can no longer endure. The story, too, of other men and women in other parts of the world who have boycotted buses or gone on strike or have otherwise pitted their non-violent strength against age-old patterns of oppression.



► ***Should this film without a name be called* WALK TO FREEDOM?**

A film that throws a light on the great dilemma of our time—the dilemma of how to combat evil and injustice without partaking of that evil and injustice which is violence. A film that takes you to Kenya, to South Africa, to India, to the Deep South of our own country, showing how this dilemma has been met by rebellious men, and what have been and promise to be the consequences of their choice.

► ***Should this film without a name be called* EDGE OF VIOLENCE?**

Whatever the name it is finally given, this new Fellowship Film will be ready soon after you read this. Featuring outstanding Negro actor William Marshall as narrator, the 20-minute, 16-mm. sound film was produced by leading experts in the documentary film world. You will want to book it at the earliest opportunity. For details of rental and sale on the Film Without a Name, write *now* to:

Fellowship Films

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New York 32, N. Y.

MARTI
LUTHE
KING

IS COMING TO CHICAGO

You saw him in the headlines when h called upon the Negro bus riders Montgomery to empty the buses and fi their hearts with hope, dignity and lov in the struggle for freedom. Now hea Dr. King's message of nonviolence when he speaks in person at th big 1956 FOR National Conference.

Dr. King's participation sounds the keynote for what promises to b the high point of the pacifist year. For a weekend packed with stimula ing discussion of the vital issues of our time, you won't want to miss th panel discussion on **Problem of Integration,** featuring well-informe speakers from the South.

Also on the agenda—a forum on the **Economics of Peace,** with panel of leading economists and pacifist pundits. And plenty of oppo tunity for the informal kind of living fellowship that keeps the Fellow ship of Reconciliation a dynamic rallying point for pacifists everywher

THE TIME—September 7, 8 and 9.

THE PLACE—Chicago Theological Seminary, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

THE COST—Transportation plus low-cost accommodations. The Seminary has room for 120 me and 70 women, Friday and Saturday nights at $1.50 per night (bring your own shee and towels). Additional rooms at the University, $1.65. Inexpensive meals are serve at University Commons, Friday and Saturday, and on Sunday at International House— both near the Seminary.

PLAN NOW!—For further information and reservations, write to

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